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No 10

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture:

AT

ITS ANNIVERSARY MEETING, JANUARY 19, 1819.

BY WILLIAM RAWLE,

ONE OF THE MEMBERS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SOCIETY.

William Fry, Printer.

1819.

*Officers of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture,
Elected January 19th, 1819.*

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JV6451
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Hall of the Agricultural Society,
January 19, 1819.

At an Annual Meeting of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, it was

Resolved unanimously—That the thanks of the Society be presented to William Rawle, Esquire, for the address delivered by him this day before the Society, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

From the minutes truly extracted,

ROBERTS VAUX, Sec'y.

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ADDRESS.

IT has not appeared to me to be foreign to the views and character of our Society, to consider the subject of migration to this country, in its present national aspect; and to endeavour to ascertain to what extent and in what mode it is proper, in reference to our agricultural interest, to promote and encourage it.

Of late years these United States have become the general receptacle of migration.

We hear of no considerable removals from one part of Europe to another, with views of permanent residence.

The oppressed and discontented yeomanry of England or Ireland, do not migrate to France or Germany.

The bearing of this subject is therefore with us the converse of that which strikes the statesmen of Europe. With them it is a frequent question how to prevent migration; in some places it is wholly prohibited; in others it is checked and restrained, as far as lies in their power. Without reforming the abuses which impel their subjects to encounter the expense and peril of crossing an ocean in quest of an asylum, they endeavour

to convert their territories into vast gaols, in which the impatience of evil is increased by the impossibility of escape.

No such system has ever existed with us. The right of removal has always been recognised as one of the rights of man; and the natural and political advantages of our country, have rendered it needless to encroach on or impair this principle. Our migrations in considerable bodies, are limited to other parts of our own countries. Enterprising individuals, chiefly led by commercial views, may however be found, as American emigrants, in every quarter of the globe; but they seldom forget their country, and almost always calculate on returning, to enjoy the fruits of their labour at home.

Migration may be divided into that which is the effect of compulsion, and that which is voluntary.

Of the former there once were two kinds, both of them detrimental and disgraceful to us.

In the infancy of our provincial establishments, when the mother country (as it was affectionately termed by us,) exercised without opposition, a strong and sometimes injudicious domination over us, she thought proper, perhaps without much maternal feeling, to export a certain description of her convicts, to intermingle with her faithful and industrious colonists.

If this transmission of profligacy and vice was, at first, accepted by Virginia, from the hands of James the First, as a favour, there is reason to

believe that it was soon discovered to be an evil. (A) It was soon discovered that the wretch whose criminal propensities and habits, were little altered by the voyage, submitted with repugnance on his arrival, to the obligations of servitude and the necessity of labour; that efforts to escape were common, and often successful; and that, with a few exceptions, neither the colonies nor the parent country, were ultimately benefited by the practice.

But colonists can do little more than murmur and submit.

Pennsylvania, feeling the injury which she could not wholly prohibit, hazarded the imposition of a duty on every convict imported.

It checked, without destroying the evil.

At what time the second class of compelled migration, the importation of slaves, commenced, we are not exactly able to say.

I trace it back in Virginia, to a very early period; and it is probable that with her the practice commenced, at least in North America.(B.)

It has been asserted that the mistaken humanity of Las Casas, originally recommended it in the Spanish provinces. It will be pleasing, if, even at this late hour, his memory can be vindicated from so gross an error.

That Pennsylvania adopted, or at least permitted this unnatural addition to its plain and sober population, cannot be doubted. In the year seventeen hundred, William Penn, addressing the

monthly meeting of Friends, expresses anxiety for the Christian instruction of the negroes. In seventeen hundred and five, a special judicature was erected for their trial, and measures were taken indicating some alarm and apprehension, at the number and conduct of those who had been manumitted.

Other cautionary provisions, which may be found in the statute book, within a few years afterwards, concur in proving the sense then entertained of the impolicy, although they did not discover or at least did not prevent the injustice, of this forced population.

In fact, it may be considered that every species of forced population, is impolitic and unjust.

It is the natural disposition of man to resist oppression, and as soon as the superiority of physical force is removed, the reaction of the sufferer commences.

He reclaims his original rights; refuses the duties that were imposed on him; if he can, he leaves the country to which he has been dragged; but seldom, very seldom, does he render it any voluntary and effectual services.

Hence we may account for the unfavourable declaration of the Pennsylvania legislature, in seventeen hundred and twenty-five, relative to free negroes.

It is probable that at that time the free negroes consisted wholly of native Africans, torn by violence from their homes, and feeling, even after

manumission, all the resentment against those who brought them, and all the aversion against those who received them, which would naturally lead to sullenness and inaction.

To this we may add, a certain degree of helplessness and inefficiency, arising from the want of instruction.

But the manumission commonly took place when it was too late to instruct; when the strength of the body was reduced by age, and the faculties of the mind were clouded by the continuity of labour, under the hopelessness of slavery.

To direct the severity of legislation against those who were brought here by our violence, and degraded by our treatment, is difficult to reconcile with that sound justice, which has almost always characterised our code.

Fifty years afterwards, in seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, we discovered that like ourselves, they were men!

The first species of forced migration ceased at the commencement of the war of the revolution.

The second ought to have terminated in 1808.

Congress then received the constitutional power to prohibit the importation of slaves, but there is too much reason to believe, that their laws have been frequently and shamefully evaded.

I turn from subjects on which the statesman cannot meditate without surprise, nor the philosopher without regret, to the more pleasing and

more useful consideration of voluntary migration.

It has been heretofore observed, that while irrational animals in their natural state, are confined to particular portions of the earth, man alone can subsist in all.

In the torrid, the temperate or the frigid zones, in almost every latitude, on almost every soil, the present or the ancient footsteps of man are to be found.

Where labour produces subsistence, he remains; when the demand exceeds the supply he removes.

But this, though the principal, is not the only cause of removal.

The spirit of adventure; the hopes of gain; religious difficulties; national oppression; domestic miseries, and various other motives, produce it.

Sometimes an entire nation, sometimes only a superfluous part of its population; sometimes but a small portion of dissatisfied or enterprising individuals receive the impulse, and migration commences.

The successive waves of the northern inundations, many centuries ago, overwhelmed the continent of Europe; and the island of Great Britain, from which we received the rudiments of our laws, a prey by turns to the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, may be justly considered as now retaining few traces of its aboriginal features.

Many curious and important changes in general polity, proceeded from these migratory usurpations; one of which is, particularly, coincident with the present subject.

Land, one of the main objects of avidity, assumed a pre-eminent character, in their institutions, not with a view to its improvement by agriculture, (for to prevent an attachment to particular spots produced by cultivation, an annual change of occupancy among the followers of the chief was long the custom) but because the hardy and ferocious conqueror, despising the luxuries of cities, sought a simple and certain subsistence in the raising of cattle and production of grain; because the habits of the soldier appeared to them less liable to be lost in the husbandman than in the artizan; and because, by being thus spread over the surface of the conquered territory, the old inhabitants could more easily be controlled.

Land became the property of the chief, and was held of him and under him, in a manner unknown to the Romans, the previous masters of the world.

Who were then the possessors of these shores, from whence they came, and how and when they disappeared, whether they voluntarily removed to the milder climates of the south, or were expelled or extirpated by the wild uncultured tribes, whom the fifteenth century found in possession, we shall never know with certainty.

The phantoms of these nations, like those of the departed heroes of Ossian, seem to pass over the plain, and the functions of history are lost in the evanescent forms of the imagination.

On such subjects the traditions of the natives afford little satisfaction.

Without the aid of letters history soon evaporates in fable.

Three or four generations may be considered the extent of the traditionary deposit of fact.

Visible objects sometimes assist to explain, and sometimes only contribute to obscure.

Those wondrous mounds, which astonish the traveller and perplex the antiquary, only prove to us that there once were inhabitants unlike those with whom we are now acquainted.

A race of uncivilized hunters alone appeared to welcome or to resist the first European settlers.

But in general there was no opposition. The European, unless he set the example of violence, was kindly received.

The savage soon began to barter for articles before unknown to him, the value of which, however, to his present comfort was easily perceived, large tracts of land, his occupancy of which was marked by little more than his light footsteps in pursuit of the buffaloe or the deer.

It has sometimes been asserted that such purchases were unnecessary; that he who lives by the chase alone, can have no title to the soil, and that those who propose to cultivate it, have a na-

tural right to take it from him, because their occupation will be of more service to mankind.

Doctrines, such as these, are now indeed practically exploded among us. The acquisitions by the general government are made by fair and open purchase; and where the looseness of traditional title and scattered occupancy has created doubts, it has been the prudent course of the United States to extend their contracts and pay considerations to every tribe that set up a probable claim to the lands in question.

The adoption of the principle adverted to would tend to sap the foundations of property.

If the right of possession were once admitted to be founded on the utility of employment, the cottager, who was desirous to cultivate a garden, might claim the ornamental lawn or the enclosed park of his wealthy neighbour. What would be iniquitous and absurd among individuals would not be less so in respect to nations; and a sort of public piracy would thus be generated, accompanied with this peculiar character, that its own acquisitions would be as destitute of permanency as of justice; since every person, claiming a title under it, would be equally bound to surrender it to him who afterwards proved that he could employ it to greater advantage.

But what ought not to be taken by force may justly be acquired by contract. If the native is willing to sell, the stranger may fairly purchase:

although with the first act of cession the fate of the hunting class may be predicted.

Agriculture, slowly and steadily advancing, propels before it the game and those whose subsistence depends upon the game.

More land soon becomes necessary to the husbandman, and the hunter, already abridged in his means of subsistence and inclined to renew, by purchase, those comforts which at first were unknown to him, is again prepared to sell.

The numbers of one class increase, the numbers of the other, without violence or war, gradually diminish; and, unless they adopt the protecting art of agriculture, the natives in time will wholly disappear.

That this is the effect of agriculture operating on those whose subsistence depends on the chase, is obvious from the present state of the population of Mexico, as related by Humboldt.

The Spaniards have never shown an extraordinary solicitude to spare the lives of the natives; but in Mexico, they found an agricultural nation, and with all the cruelties they exercised over them, there still remain aborigines enough to constitute two-fifths of their present population.

On this subject, it is to be wished that more strenuous efforts could be made to prove the importance, and impart the knowledge of agriculture to the natives.

The partial success of some of the society of Friends, in the states of New York and Ohio,

and of some public spirited individuals on the confines of Georgia, strongly prove the necessity of national co-operation.

It is pleasing to notice the efforts now making by some highly respectable characters in the city of New York, to promote this great object. (C)

But our frontier inhabitants, generally regard the natives with aversion, and treat them with contempt.

It would be their interest, to unite in the endeavours to convert the impoverished and discontented hunter, into an industrious and useful farmer.

In North America, there is no reason to believe, that the number of Indians is now as great as it was, when first discovered.

The migration of a tribe of hunters, to another tribe of hunters, is never welcome to the latter.

The hunter cannot well have too much space.

The strangers consume a portion of the food on which he depends, without contributing to increase the stock.

Our citizens at present form three general classes.

1st, Those who practice the productive art of agriculture, including the raising of animal food.

2dly, Those who are engaged in manufactures, and

3dly, Those who pursue commerce.

The great preponderance of the first class, in

point of numbers, impresses a character on the present discussion.

Were we merely a nation of merchants, of artists or of warriors; different principles would be found to apply.

There is an obvious distinction, between admitting and inviting emigration.

A nation in a state of peace and safety, ought not to deny a hospitable reception to the fugitive, from oppression or misfortune at home.

This is the debt of humanity.

But considerations of a different structure press upon us, when we examine whether it is now expedient, to take pains to invite the inhabitants of other nations to join our community.

This is a legitimate question of self-interest, and it depends on our own wants.

1st, Do we require them to improve our condition?

2d, Do we require them for our safety?

3d, Is our present population too small in respect to the quantity of land?

4th, Is our own natural increase too slow?

1st, In about two hundred years, a population exceeding six millions of free persons, is found in the full and useful possession of our soil.

A small proportion of these millions, is composed of recent emigrants from Europe.

Much the greatest part consists of descendants from the original emigrants.

Possessed of the arts and sciences of Europe,

we have enlarged and improved on them, till we feel no inferiority in whatever tends to promote the domestic convenience and increase the rational blessings of life.

What we do not already know and practice, is easily obtained by literary communications: the times are past, when knowledge could only be acquired by actual inspection.

But we need no information from other quarters, to improve our political systems, unless it is to teach us what we ought to avoid.

History affords no instance of a republican form of government, more perfect in theory, or more successful in practice, than our own.

A full comparison of advantages and defects would at present be misplaced.

It is sufficient to say, that if any improvements in principle or effect, should in time be found necessary, it is most probable that they will be better discovered and administered by ourselves, than by strangers; however sound and friendly their intentions may be.

2d. Nor do we require an extraneous accession of numbers, to contribute to our safety, if ill fortune should again involve us in defensive hostility.

The events of our second war, assure us that our numbers, skilfulness and courage, are sufficient for our own protection.

3d, and 4th. What other motives can impel us to desire an increase of population in this mode?

Is our produce more than we consume?

Commerce carries away the surplus.

We need not invite others merely to consume it at home.

Have we lands that require cultivation?

We have millions, and by gradual acquisitions shall have many millions more of acres, which will, hereafter, be covered by our own natural increase.

The land does not so much require the people as our own people will, in time, require the land.

A view of the census of 1790, compared with that of 1810, sufficiently shows the progress of natural increase.

In 1790 the total white or free population amounted to	8,281,680
In 1810 to	6,087,589

Thus, in twenty years, it was almost doubled.

What proportion of this increase is to be credited to emigration we have no materials to calculate.

The next census will, doubtless, show a proportional increase beyond that of 1810; and it is certain that the migration to this country has been very great since the peace.

In 1817, the only year of which we have certain data, the number amounted to 22,240.

It is believed, however, not to have been so great before or since.

But we may justly refer to single states, out of which it is believed the quantity of migration has

been, in proportion, greater than any other, and into which it is certain migration has been very small.

Connecticut, in 1790, contained of free inhabitants 285,182
In 1810 261,682

From New Jersey, which like Connecticut, has no bodies of profitable vacant land on which to spread a super-abundance of population, there has been a considerable emigration.

Her population, of the same character, amounted in 1790 to 172,716
In 1810 237,711

On comparing the tables, it will be found that the population, of every one of the old states in the Union, has increased; although from every state in the Union, considerable bodies of emigrants have removed to cultivate the additional territories acquired to the west.

There is no mystery in the principle which has produced this result.

When a population is so overcharged, as to render subsistence difficult, the removal of the excess renews the means of subsistence to those who remain, and revives the tendency to natural increase.

From these considerations it seems to follow, that this country is not required to make any material alteration in its polity, for the purpose of alluring strangers to join it.

But without inviting, we are ready to receive,

and hence arises the liberty to inquire and decide what description of foreigners it is desirable to receive, and to whom it would be useful, were it practicable, to render access difficult.

It must be repeated that from this enumeration we are always to except those, whom tyranny and oppression of any kind, public grievances or personal afflictions, may give a claim on our humanity.

When we proceed on the principles assumed, to ascertain the value of the emigrant, we must consider the nature of his occupation.

The first, and most useful class, consists of those who bring with them the moral and physical habits and capacity of productive labour.

The husbandman, the grazier, the gardener; those who till the earth, or raise the quadruped, should be foremost in the ranks of hospitable reception.

Next to these we place the artist.

Not the fabricator of the frivolous gratifications of luxury, but of solid and substantial articles, either of the first necessity, or conducive to the sober and wholesome comforts of middle life.

It is doubtful whether the third, that is, the commercial class form a desirable accession to us.

Every reflecting mind must perceive that too large a portion of our citizens is already engaged in commerce for their own interests or those of the nation.

Commerce is merely a commutative art.

It adds nothing to the national stock; its office is to exchange the surplus product of one country, or part of a country, for that of another.

Every nation will always find a sufficient portion of its own citizens ready to engage in it, unless, as in China, they should be restrained by the government. And it may be laid down as an axiom that the sudden establishment of a large class of foreign merchants, in an agricultural society, will always prove injurious to it.

A healthy industrious farmer is a more valuable accession to the political strength than a mercantile house with a large capital from a foreign country.

Considering then the first and certain portions of the second class, as the description of foreigners whom it is for the national interest to receive into our population, the next inquiry is, in what mode and to what extent their migration may be facilitated and encouraged.

In respect to the passage across the Atlantic, there is no doubt that the mercenary views of some owners of ships or their captains, operating on the general ignorance of peasantry in respect to naval matters, have produced sickness and death to many of their passengers.

This is a cause of public interference as well on the part of the nation, from which the migration takes place, as on the part of that to which it is directed.

Considerations of humanity are binding upon both.

But the European nation is additionally stimulated by the desire of restraining emigration; and hence some recent regulations of the British Parliament have taken place on this subject.

With us the additional motive is that a healthy and efficient population should alone be introduced.

The subject is now before Congress.

The features of the plan under their consideration I know not.

There is perhaps some difficulty in devising a proper mode of prevention.

To prohibit an entry to the sickly and dejected passengers, would be to punish one for the offence of another.

Perhaps, to strip the avaricious owner of his profits, by exempting his passengers from the payment of their freight, and compelling him to land, and, for a time, provide for those who had suffered by the want of room, wholesome food, and proper comforts on board, would not be too severe.

The next step in our inquiries is the process of receiving the emigrant into our community.

It may be reduced to four general heads.

1st. Personal safety and protection.

2d. Freedom of religious opinion.

3d. Acquisition of property.

4th. Participation in political rights.

1st. Every stranger is entitled, at the moment of landing, to the protection of the law.

The alien, the naturalized and the native citizen, are alike the objects of its care, and alike the subjects of its power.

Human society presents its loveliest aspect when, as with us, no discrimination exists but that between virtue and vice; when the only rule, to which conformity is required, is that which levels all distinctions of rank, and all inequalities of property; presenting to the good the even surface of the lake, but exhibiting to the guilty the storm of the ocean.

It has sometimes been erroneously supposed by emigrants, that on their arrival here, they will be exempted from the payment of debts, or the performance of other moral obligations to persons abroad.

It is only when the laws of his own country have discharged the honest but unfortunate bankrupt, from pressures at home, that a national courtesy extends that protection here.

In almost all cases he meets his creditors on our soil as he would upon his own.

2d. The freedom of religious opinions is now secured to all, provided their practice does not disturb the peace of the Commonwealth.

The history of some of the eastern colonies was, for a time, disfigured by religious persecution; the more extraordinary as they fled from intolerance at home to practise it abroad.

To the southward it was scarcely known.

It is a remarkable historical fact, that in the two adjoining provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, peopled by two of the most opposite sects, the Roman Catholic and the Society of Friends, a similar course should have been pursued.

Both Penn and Calvert declared and secured to all professors of the Christian religion the freedom of religious opinion; and both, instead of striving to conquer, peacefully purchased the land of the natives.

On this subject, credit has lately been claimed for the founder of the colony of Rhode Island, some years before the settlement of Pennsylvania.

Roger Williams was certainly an extraordinary man; but it is to be remembered that his liberality was, in a great degree, a defensive measure against his own persecutors in Massachusetts; that his purchase of the Indians was the effect of necessity to procure himself, in secret, an asylum from his enemies; and that the toleration did not extend to the Roman Catholics.

The system of Penn seems to have been founded on broader and nobler principles; yet, it is possible that the examples, both of Sir George Calvert and of Roger Williams, who were nearly cotemporaries, may have confirmed his original intentions by the evidence of their success. (D)

3d. That the acquisition of property should be

free, and the protection of it certain, is essential to our own interests.

We cannot otherwise convert the emigrant into a useful citizen.

But the feudal origin of our laws already adverted to, has drawn a distinction, not perhaps well founded in the intrinsic character of property itself; and forming, in reference to the agricultural class, an unnecessary impediment to the animation and success of their labour.

While personal property, to any extent, might be acquired and enjoyed, the ownership of an acre of land was in some colonies, withheld from the alien.

A long interval succeeded his arrival before he could cease to labour for the benefit of another, and attain that enviable condition, the value of which is less estimated here because it is so common, the possession of an independent freehold.

Yet this is precisely the sort of property which it is for the interest of the nation to allow the agricultural emigrant immediately to acquire.

If the artist may open his workshop, fabricate and dispose of his wares; the merchant, with a small additional charge of tonnage duty, purchase and employ ships, or fill his stores with his own goods on their respective arrivals, surely the husbandman should not be compelled to remain years, before he is allowed to become the proprietor of the very subject which he migrates to obtain.

It seems that in Pennsylvania, aliens were originally allowed to hold lands.

The sound judgment of William Penn, enabled him to discover the utility of this permission, and legislative measures appear to have been adopted in support of it.

I have not been able to find the law itself, but from the querulous preamble to the first naturalization act, which was passed in 1708, it may be inferred, that it was repealed by queen Anne, in council; to the dissatisfaction of our Assembly. (E)

Since the peace of 1783, such license has again been granted, and withdrawn.

But a very recent provision has been made on this subject.

By an act of the 24th March last, aliens may purchase lands within our boundaries, not exceeding five thousand acres in each instance: and all former purchases made by foreigners, previous to declaring their intentions to become citizens, and who have since been naturalized, are confirmed.

It may be hoped, that the last law will be permanent.

The old feudal principles, are now merely nominal. Fealty and homage, in respect to land, have ceased to be operative relations.

Allegiance and protection, resulting from residence, are more efficient.

In time of war, it is less easy for the non-resi-

dent owner to withdraw his property in land than in chattels.

Even the income may be easily withheld from him, by the government.

In peace, his cultivation tends to increase the national stock; and he will export the produce, or consume it here, on precisely the same principles as those which actuate the proper citizen; that is by ascertaining which will be most profitable to himself, and whatever is most profitable to him, will be so to the nation.

But the removal of legal obstacles, is not alone sufficient.

When the state has no longer any lands of its own to grant, the facility of acquisition depends on the will of the private owners. Large tracts are often withheld for a long time, from erroneous fixtures of price. In truth it is the interest of such proprietors to dispose of their lands to actual settlers on moderate terms, and to grant freehold estates in preference to leases. And even with low prices, long credits must frequently be allowed, or the means of subsistence and cultivation will be exhausted, before the improvements have been carried so far as to form that attachment to the spot, which will render its cultivation most useful to the nation.

A mode of enabling the traveller to ascertain without difficulty, both the owner, and the price of the land, is desirable.

Some sort of local register for this purpose

might be convenient. We may perhaps account for so much of our fertile land in Pennsylvania being passed over by those who proceed annually in great numbers to the westward, from this want of information as to the owners.

4th, It remains only to admit the stranger, thus liberally protected and secured in person, in property and in religion, to the equal enjoyment of political privileges, and thus render him completely a citizen.

A residence of five years, a good moral character and an attachment to the constitution of the United States, entitle him to this admission.

Longer and shorter periods of previous residence; have heretofore been required.

Perhaps the present is as just a medium, as could be fixed.

Having thus traced the progress of the emigrant, from his first landing, to the full enjoyment of all the rights and benefits which our political constitutions can bestow; we may be allowed to congratulate him on his reception into that society, where, if any where on earth, a state of perfect happiness may be obtained.

What then become his duties?

That allegiance which he owed to his former country, he has transferred to ours: as it is voluntary, it ought to be sincere; as it is a matter of contract, it ought to be faithfully performed.

In war he must contribute to defend; in peace he should co-operate, to support and enrich the

community in whose prosperity he is thus personally interested.

To enter fully and fairly into the equal class of citizens, to intermingle with the inhabitants, appear to a certain degree his duty.

Although we may not be able to prohibit, yet we cannot applaud the little separate communities, which the adherence to local attachments has led some foreigners to aim at among us.

Petty societies composed of individuals from particular nations, collecting themselves in detached spots, and exclusive establishments, do not tend to increase the common national character of Americans.

They form English, French and German colonies in the heart of our territory.

They imbibe very slowly, if at all, the general feeling, opinions and affections of the country, whose adoption they have sought.

If their knowledge and their habits are superior to those of their American neighbours, the benefit is unjustly withheld, after receiving from us all the encouragement and assistance that our institutions can give.

If they are less qualified than ourselves to subdue the difficulties, and enjoy the advantages, of settlement among us, the dissociation injures themselves.

The French settlement at Vincennes, as related by Volney, forms a striking proof of the latter case.

Let those, who are admitted among us as citizens, cordially and intimately unite with their new fellow citizens.

Let them learn our improvements, and if they have any which we do not possess, let them teach us their own.

Let them, when they abjure the allegiance of law, abjure the allegiance of opinion.

They will not suffer by the exchange.

They will learn to feel that they are not European emigrants but American citizens.

They will thus only come to know that this is their real country, substantially their "natale solum," where they have again been politically born, and they will thus learn to realize the eloquent declaration of Ruth to Naomi; "Where thou goest I will go, and where thou dwellest I will dwell; thy country shall be my country, and (in freedom of worship) thy God my God."

When we cast our eyes on the immense portion of the earth which we already possess, when we extend our view still further westward, over plains where the foot of civilized man has not yet trodden, where the light of the gospel has not yet shone, where the savage roams, unconscious of the gradual approach of civilization, and ignorant of the events which are taking place around him, our minds expand at the prospect of the mighty empire which is forming before us.

The great momentum of this empire will always be agriculture.

Its regular progress, its natural increase, its certain hold, its analogy to the best faculties of man, its conformity to the will of heaven, all combine to rank it the great engine of the formation, the prosperity and power of this country.

The ancients appropriated various deities to its protection.

We more simply and more reverently, contemplate agriculture, as that employment in which man is most strongly impelled by his own works, to look up with gratitude to the Author of goodness.

The planter cannot behold, without reverence, the seed which he has committed to the earth, changing its form and rising into the air; successively evolving the stem, the leaf, the fruit, till it yields, in manifold increase, the sustenance required.

He is blind if he does not there discover an agency superior to his own.

He is hardened if he does not revere this superior agency, as evincing for his advantage, through the laws of nature, the POWER of GOD.

APPENDIX.

Note A. Page 7.

The Political Annals of the present United Colonies, by George Chalmers, printed in 1780, is a work not much known in this country, but possessing considerable merit, in respect to laborious research, and accurate detail. The author had free access to the immense deposit of papers, in the Plantation office at White-hall; and of these authorities, which are not frequently consulted, he has fully availed himself, in tracing many points of ancient colonial history.

The following passage is extracted from page 46 of these Annals.

"It is to James, however, that the nation and the colonies owe the policy, whether salutary or baneful, of sending convicts to the plantations. From him the treasurer and council received a letter in the year 1619, "commanding them to send a hundred dissolute persons to Virginia, which the knight marshal would deliver to them." And in obedience to the royal mandate, they resolved to transport them as servants, though at a considerable expense. Whatever offence a similar policy has given the colonists in modern time, "those dissolute persons," if we may credit their historian, "were then very acceptable to them." The good sense of those days, justly considering that their labour would be more beneficial in an infant settlement, which had an immense wilderness to cultivate, than their vices could possibly be pernicious. The only law, which at that time justified the infliction of expulsion as a punishment, was the statute of Elizabeth; which enacted, "that dangerous rogues might be banished out of the realm." But, from the circumstance of that transaction, it is probably that the obnoxious men above mentioned were transported, agreeably to the genius of the administration of that reign, by prerogative."

Note B. Page 7.

Virginia, as the oldest colony, probably set the example to the others. The first importation was by a Dutch ship, in 1620. Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. i. p. 63.

Yet it was not without the disapprobation of wise and judicious men among them; and some prohibitory laws of an early date, are understood to have been passed by their legislature, and subsequently repealed by the crown.

Chalmers, p. 327, inserts the answers of "the famous Sir William Berkley" to the enquiries of the lords of the committee of colonies, "We suppose, and I am very sure we do not much miscount, that there is in Virginia about 40,000 persons, men, women and children: Of which there are 2000 black slaves; 6000 Christian servants for a short time; and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to settle or serve, in hopes of bettering their condition in a growing country; yearly we suppose there comes in of servants about 1500; of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish; and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years."

Rhode Island was in the habit of importing them, in 1680; see Chalmers, p. 283.

Note C. Page 15.

To those instances, should be added the representation of the society of Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the Eastern parts of Maryland, under date of the 1st of January, 1819, and recently laid before Congress.

It is very ably written, and concludes with earnestly requesting Congress to protect the aborigines "in the peaceable possession of their rights, and extend a fostering hand for their advancement to the knowledge of obtaining, and comfortably enjoying the means of civilized life."

Note D. Page 24.

The authority for the purchase of the Indians, having been secretly made for the purpose mentioned in the text, is Morse, Vol. I. p. 433.

The formal act, excluding Roman Catholics, is stated by Chalmers, p. 276, and was passed in 1663.

Since this address was delivered to the Society, the author has seen and perused with great pleasure, the anniversary discourse

of Mr. Verplanck, before the New York Historical Society, on the 7th of December, 1818.

A notice of this work in one of the newspapers, led him to suppose that the example of Roger Williams, was introduced in a manner somewhat impairing the merit of William Penn. He is happy to find that this first impression was erroneous. The author of that eloquent discourse has with great liberality of mind, and felicity of diction, delineated the talents and peculiarities, the difficulties and the success of William Penn, so as not to strip him of the fame which he has so long enjoyed.

It would be injustice to Mr. Verplanck, to suffer this work to go to the press without the present acknowledgment.

Note E. Page 26.

This act may be found in Kinsey's edition.

The part of the preamble referred is as follows:—

"Now forasmuch as the value of land in this province being generally but the effect of the people's labour, their plantations are deemed by our laws but as chattels to pay debts; and strangers have been rendered capable to hold what they purchased as fully and freely, as if they had been natural born subjects of this province; but since the repeal of the late laws made after the example of other governments, for encouragement of the peopling and settling this colony, some doubts and questions have arisen whether the said Germans are capable to hold what they purchased as aforesaid, &c."



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